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[796] second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
 [431] tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
 [565] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
 [777] kola nuts and perfumes. This is also the time when members of
 [602] the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
 [796] with whom they have joking relationships (nangima). As the
 [709] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
 [753] age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
 [315] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in
 particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam
 reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
 [708] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
 [535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
 [557] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill
 about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto
 other little boys.

[702] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's
 Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori
 Kuguibe (kugu means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed
 at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

129 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri
 culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was
 largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals
 with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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[531]

[484]

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Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seem to indicate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

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Table XXV

13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (also).

138.

593 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely
565 difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most
183 of the people.

837 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly
562 determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital
fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour
norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the
prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence
[554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given
only shan acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the
most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very
respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a
paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation
confers. (1)

837 Men may marry up to four wives in the Maelin world and be-
836 cause there are always sower (divorced women) in Bornu who are avail-
562 able sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual
[595] relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally
sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical
standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times
whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it
does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand,
a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of
marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[P29] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of
[289] their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually
practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful."
His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous;
so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have
power to inflict good or evil on others.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witchcraft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mal-lams.
 829
 [789]

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is not their own, and then they give the money to the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent - it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.
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 [558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in [775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for 554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the 577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds 463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, [167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

276 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as
 302 the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor,
 511 and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the
 273 District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor,
 [511] little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more wide-
 spread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of
 Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the
 276 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chew-
 272 ing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost
 789 everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in
 which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and
 [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This
 type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the
 specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate great-
 er success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration.
 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for
 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in
 the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such
 items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo"
 for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his
 personal fortunes, and so on. The recognised superiority of Western
 technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a
 sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time,
 money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and
 women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily
 practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both